1: Karsten--142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 828 (1928-29)

"All the rules in regard to fasting mentioned above originate in a special idea, deeply rooted in the mind of the Indians with whom we are dealing. Not only do they believe that a man, by eating a certain animal or a certain vegetable, may acquire the characteristic qualities of that animal or vegetable even in minute details. They are firmly convinced that there exists such an intimate relation between a man and the work he is doing or has just done that his own qualities, both the essential and usual ones and those temporarily acquired--through eating a certain food or in other ways--may literally be transferred to the object or result of his work. A man in the most real sense of the word puts something of his soul into the work he is doing, the effects of this transference making themselves felt even for some time after it has been finished. Numerous other instances referring to different departments of the domestic industry of the Indians have already been mentioned which illustrate this view, and others will presently be mentioned. A custom like the couvade, for instance, which occurs among the Jibaros in an interesting form, will be found to rest upon similar ideas."

1: Karsten--226-227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 828, 852 (1928-29)

"On the occasion of naming the child its hair, which at birth is almost fair, is dyed with a solution prepared of the fruit genipa (Genipa americana), called sua by the Jibaros, and the root of a plant called piripiri, so that the hair becomes completely black. The genipa fruit yields the black dye with which the Indians paint their body on certain ceremonial occasions and, mixed with the solution prepared of the piripiri root, it is [227] supposed to strengthen the hair. In the case of a newborn child it is believed, in general, to strengthen its constitution and to protect it against evil influences."

l: Karsten--229-230 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 828 (1928-29)

"According to the idea of these Indians the parents, and especially the father, form with the newborn son, as it were, one single personality. [230] The soul of the latter is intimately associated with the father's own, and everything that happens to the father during the critical days is supposed directly to affect his tender son.

This view is much easier to understand when we take into consideration that the Indian not only assumes an intimate connection or sympathy between himself and his newborn child, but that the same mysterious 'sympathy' is believed to unite him more or less closely with almost any object which is the result of his work. Thus we have seen that when an Indian has bought a little dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast and submit themselves to certain other rules in their mode of life of much the same nature as those observed when a child is born. Similarly he fasts after he has sown maize and certain other plants, while he is making a drum, a blowgun, and so forth."

1: Karsten--272-274
116, 672, 627, 828

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Among the Jibaros blood-revenge is not strictly individualized in the sense that it always directs itself exclusively against the slayer. The Jibaro certainly first of all wants to take revenge on the person who committed the crime, but if he cannot be caught it may instead be directed against some one of his relatives--his brother, his father, even his mother or sister. To understand this we have to consider that the conception of individual personality, and consequently of individual responsibility, does not exist among the primitive Indians in the same sense as among civilized peoples. The individual forms an inseparable part of a whole, namely, of the family or tribe to which he belongs. Especially the members of the same family are regarded as, so to speak, organically coherent with each other, so that one part stands for all and all [273] for one. What happens to one member of that social unit happens to all, and for the deed of one member the rest are held equally responsible. How the Jibaros conceive this connection appears from certain of their social customs. For instance, custom requires that after a child is born the parents shall fast and observe other rules of abstinence for a couple of years, or until the child is weaned. This is due to the idea that something of the souls or essence of the parents inheres in the child, so that all three in one way form a single organism, a single personality. But this mystic connection between the parents and the child also subsists after the child has grown up, although perhaps less intimately. Similarly the tie which unites brothers and sisters

in a family is so intimate that they may be said together to form one organic whole. Among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when one member of the family is sick the rest have to diet in the same way as the patient himself, for if they eat unsuitable food it would be the same as if the patient ate that food, and his condition would grow worse. From the same point of view we have to explain the custom prevailing among the Jibaros that when a man dies his brother must marry the widow. The departed husband, who is still jealous of the wife he left behind, does not cede her to any other man than his brother, who with himself forms one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. When a younger Jibaro is murdered by his enemies the duty of revenging his death is also first of all incumbent on his brothers.

The Jibaro cannot even distinguish his own personality from his material belongings, at least not from things he has made himself. When he makes a shield, a drum, a blowgun, or some other delicate object, he has to diet and observe abstinence in other ways; for, according to his belief, he actually puts something of his own personality, his own soul, into the object he is making. His own properties, both the essential and habitual ones and those occasionally acquired through eating a certain food, etc., will therefore be transferred to that object. The division of labour existing among the Indians depends on the same peculiar view. Thus, for instance, the Indian woman has

to make the clay vessels and manage these utensils, because the clay of which they are made, like the earth itself, is female--that is, has a woman's soul. She is connected with the fire and has to cook the food, because the fire has a female soul, etc.

Such a view prevailing among the Indians, it is easy to understand that a Jibaro, in regard to the murder of one of his relatives, asks not [274] so much which individual has committed the deed, but rather reasons in the following way: 'A member of that family has murdered my relative; consequently, in revenge, some member of that family must die'."

20: Dyott--166
116, 195, 521, 828

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"Direct questions and answers are not understood by the Jivaros. To ask a deliberate question does not seem to conform to his idea of propriety. Every subject has to be approached by a round-about route and with infinite repetition. This is probably due to the inherent difficulty primitive man has in expressing shades of thought and his round-about course is equivalent to our guarded phraseology noticeable amongst politicians when delicate matters are being discussed. To an Indian, the most trivial incident is of as much importance as it would be to a child, so everything has to be taken seriously. It is also well not to look too intently at the person you are talking to. You may be accused of casting a spell on him if you do. A man looking in can see the world: hence the world looking in can see the man. Such is their line of reasoning, and consequent aversion from the vulgar stare of some white men."

20: Dyott--167-168
116, 152, 828, 224

(no date) 1926

Jivaro-1

"Whether it was the success of our hunt, or the chance meeting with Napi, we could not say, but Kuashu was obviously pleased with the morning's work. The stranger remained with us, and on returning home, he was treated with unusual consideration. There was quite a change in the general atmosphere of the house when we got back, and we noted that Mihanda was a different mortal to what he had been earlier in the day. He acted as if a weight had been removed from his chest. His spear was finished and his friends regarded its well-shaped lines with approval.

There was a real reason for this change of manner on Mihanda's part which needs explanation. The Jivaro finds it difficult to distinguish between himself and his [168] personal belongings. Everything he uses or makes, particularly weapons, are regarded as part of himself, and in the making of them, he instils much of his own personality. So strongly ingrained is this feeling that the making of an ordinary spear (nanki) is accompanied by a certain amount of ritual. He must eat only certain foods, his thoughts must not be disturbed by conversation with others, he must not live with his wife. If he does these things, then the spear will be worthless and he himself may die. Even the chonta wood from which spears are made is regarded with superstition. They believe that this palm, with its formidable spikes, is the abode of a very potent spirit, so that a spear made from it inspires both man and beast with fear. This intimate tie between man and his material belongings is very strong, but between members of a

family the bond is infinitely stronger. If Mihanda had been sick, then his wife and brothers would abstain from eating certain foods, for if they partook of them, it would harm the patient just as much as if he himself had done so."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
774 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-
778 confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
• [828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[5] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

778 When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
721 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
774 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing expedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jívaro shamans (*uwišin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
787 Jívaro name is *natemā*, in order to enter the supernatural world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yabi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemā* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[12] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemā* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
828

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danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemā*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemā* drink among the Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the "real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemā*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is attributed to Tsuŋi, the mythological first shaman who is believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is described as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*nawurā*) which are

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services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike steadfastly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably.

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk*.

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *wakani* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *wakani* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter.

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *wakani* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *wakani* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually resupplying the *wakani* bird with new *tsentsak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts.

While the *wakani* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk*. The *pasuk*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman.